2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By KALERVO OBERG

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

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2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

[P. 2-A]

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 929

[POST Chaco Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians.

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos."

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization

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[Post Chaco Period] 101 177 182

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

648 [673] [681] [682]

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

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Preface

/01/ In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
/33/ de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
/97/ largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
/61/ ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

/463/ Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

/77/ It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress,
/42/ wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
/91/ a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
/62/ guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
/71/ much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

/619/ In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

/21/ Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
/77/ to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

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121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations.

[114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the [640] [797] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative 121 177 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

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121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

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114 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
121 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

122 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

121 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

114 The study of this process, however, first called for a
121 general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our
[101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

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114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[162] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying
[103] that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

3:Oliveira--11 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11
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I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

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3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

G C 101 175

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the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

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C 161 [361]

G Ki M 161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

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4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

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It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

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The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

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Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

/24 cont./
121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

● 101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[13] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
175 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

/25 cont./
parcialidades, although these, to differentiate among themselves, use other names." (10) He goes on to explain that the

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10. 1910, II:255. An elucidation: instead of quoting the texts of the chroniclers in the language in which they were written, we choose to transcribe them translated /into Portuguese/, while trying to keep the original style; we believe that this will make the reading of these pages less burdensome.

name Guaná is a pronoun of the third person of the "Chaná" language meaning that one and that it must have become the proper name of a nation through one of those misunderstandings so common to the etymology of tribal names. (11) Now Felix

11. Cf. Labrador, II:267.

Azara writes that "Guaná" means in his language man or male; which seems to be--he says--hardly applicable to a nation, yet it is under this name that they are known in Paraguay. (12)

12. 1809, II:86.

Finally, D. Juan Francisco Aguirre comes up with a third version, while at the same time corroborating, with Labrador and Azara, the statement that Guaná was not the name by which those Indians called themselves. Thus he says: "The Guanás, in their language Chanés, that is, many people, lived in the Chaco...." (13)

13. 1898:471.

/25 cont./

/101/ The controversies that took place among 18th-century chroniclers, about the translation of the term Guaná, nevertheless do not compromise the interpretation that the word Guaná is but a special designation given by the Spanish conquistadors to the Txané groups of the Paraguay basin. It is probable that the term in question is a name of some sort from the language of one of those groups, with the exception of the Terêna, whose dialect does not contain such a word.

Among these Indians, as we were able to ascertain in the course of our stay in their aldeas, "Guaná" was an unfamiliar word that evoked no reaction whatsoever when uttered by the researcher. Be it noted that for man or male, for example, the Terêna have "hoyênó," and for that one they use "eneponé"; while "txané," to them, means people. However, in order to avoid any discussion which, on these grounds, would be useless, we must follow the majority of the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers and accept the tradition of its use in ethnology. (14)

14. Cf. the works of Metraux, Baldus, Oberg, and Altenfelder.

and /26/ ádopt the designation Guaná for the Aruák-Txané groups of the Paraguay basin.

As for the identification of the Guaná subgroups, ethnology [114] faces problems of a different order. The variation encountered, chiefly in consulting the 18th-century chroniclers and between these and those of the following centuries, leads the specialist to desist from any further investigation into the exact historical position and the probable geographic location of these tribes in the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Max Schmidt gives a comparative table of the various names attributed to the Guaná groups by chroniclers of the [174] 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. (15) Through an analysis of

15. Cf. 1903:328-331.

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101 this table and the addition of data from other chroniclers not
174 consulted by its author, we can infer that at best four Guaná subgroups crossed the Paraguay River to its eastern bank, where they survived (not all of them, as we shall see later) until our century. The tribes were: Terêna, Layana, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi /Echoaladi/, the latter also being known as "Guanás," which led to some confusion since this name coincided with the Guaná subgroups as a whole. (16) A /

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16. The distinction made by Sanches Labrador between the tribal designations and the names attributed to the Aruák groups by the Guaikurú, permits us to set up the following table:

Tribal self-designation	Guaikurú name
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

101 This table shows that "Echoaladi" is a
648 Mbayá-Guaikurú word by which--owing to the enormous Guaikurú influence throughout the area--the "Choarána" seem to have been known in the 18th century (Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre).

101 Already in the following century, the
[648] Guaikurú hegemony decreased, and the remaining "Choarana" seem to have been called also by the generic name "Guanás"; the names "Chooronós" and "Chualas," which are added to the

/26 cont./

● /101/ designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned. 1/1

/101/ /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century A
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
165 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

1/1 [For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst].

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175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
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23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established
[175] between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/29 cont./
121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
648 whole, mentioning the Terena and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 The first information available on the Guaná(26) show
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26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses."(27) Already by this
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27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors."(28)

28. Ibidem.

Terena
Mbaya SK11
Arawakan Indians SR6

G /31 cont./
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[201] their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko. "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone
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125 have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation
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431 and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

34. Idem:267.

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[208] offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which
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[565]
[574] the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not offered such presents, even though they are provided with food during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

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648 To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the 17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to
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[439] their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese. (36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

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648 Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák. (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

G M 175 648 [57] [622] [682]

/35 cont./ Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87; cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311. In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

G M [101]

G [191]

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 almost no help in reconstruct-
173 ing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work.
[128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná al-
631 ready suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the
[171] Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they
101 generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

G 140 cont.] [Traditional Culture]
567 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver
101 on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

G 565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to refer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané), and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

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M 565 631

59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

3:Oliveira--75 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2

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/59 cont./

us the first arrival of settlers, who will arrive in ever increasing numbers, coming from the Province of Minas Gerais, where they do not find the fertile and unpopulated plains that draw them here for their benefit and ours." (1840: 170-71.)

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But the region actually occupied by the Guaná--called Itatins at the time--was to take in almost simultaneously two human contingents of distinct origins; and it may even be said that this encounter was the closing point in the pastoral penetration, i.e., the meeting point of two segments of the same frontier, coming from the northeast and channeled through the funnel formed by the Parnaíba River and the Rio Grande: while one segment came toward the south, fording the Paraná River and entering the region of fine campos called Vacaria, another headed west to Coxim, probably incorporating people from Cuiabá, and closed the circle in the region of the Taquari and Miranda rivers.(101) We believe

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101. "For tens of years, the old regions of the Taquari and Miranda, the latter formerly campos de Xeres, from the river banks to the banks of the Apa, as well as the Vacaria plateau, formerly llanos de Yguari, extending to the Iguatemi, had remained in their natural uncultivated state, left to the exclusive rule of the inhabitant. -- On the right bank of the

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idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

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/62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108)

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108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

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cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

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175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

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109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

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2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Amshyst]

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had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt
177 much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the
797 Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than
184 through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna com-
[10] munities; chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64)
[361] on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

175 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very
648 scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is 101 829 Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

484 648 [247] [482] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]
177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
● [01] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

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151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

/119 cont./

[121] of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
[162] tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
[369] gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac, the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families, comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[121] 190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in /120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already mentioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia" [125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how widely the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families, a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./
121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

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193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

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125 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
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162 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

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121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

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1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
●101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
177 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites
178 since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

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131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division of Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

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/101/ I passed through all of the aldeas mentioned, starting my trip on February 21 and ending it on April 14 of the present year (1896).

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Terena Vocabulary

Man, oyhénó
Woman, sénó
Infant, calihónó
Head, tuty
Eyes, uqué
Nose, guirij
Mouth, pahó
Teeth, ohé

Tongue, nené
Ears, quenó
Neck, docó
Hair, tutijé
Forehead, uhónhó
Arm, daquij
Hand, mohúm
Fingers, toes, coava móhúm
Body, nninho
Chest, chéné
Milk, atuchéné
Heart, omisconé
Liver, apacaná
Lungs, japahytinán
Intestines, ocóhó
Legs, anunzéré
Foot, jévé

Scrotum, ayháquiá
Anus, acicicó
Beard, achenoyhó
Skeleton, hopéthij
Buttock, curócunan
Cemetery, petyayháquiá
God, tupá
Father or cacique, cóchómonetij
House, petij
Walls, yévépetij
Roof, tunucunanpetij
Door, pahápetij
Bed, ypé
Net, tuyty
Ball, uthó
Ollas, chóróná
No, acó
Yes, all right, honaijtij
Small, calij
Water pot or jug, camuchy
Knife, peritau
Necklace, chúrópé
Arrows, chumé
Bow, chequij
Kitchen, oyécótique

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

Ga [621] "The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already